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291 [439] Raw cotton and cotton sheeting have long been imported, and still are, but the toga (shamma), probably the oldest of the Abyssinian cotton garments, is made domestically, from cotton spun by the housewife and woven on the handloom of the weaver.

The cotton clothing now considered "traditional" is [765] always white. The explanation given by the pious is that white is the expression of mourning, because of the passing from the earth of Jesus Christ.

[294] Tailoring is done by poor semi-specialized Amhara men at "big markets". Garments are made with great care, to follow the traditional style and also fit well. There are no new fashions in these costumes, for the prevalent pattern is conservative: to be properly dressed for the occasion, in the style of one's forebears. Variety exists in trousers: the jodphurs which reach to the bare feet, as former clothing of feudal lords, are more prestigeful than the wide peasant trousers that narrow to the leg just below the knee. The shirt, worn kneelength above the trousers, similarly narrows on the forearm, and is therefore called "ej tebab" (lit. narrow-sleeve) in the vernacular, instead of "qamis", the proper name (possibly from French chemise, though no Amhara would admit this foreign name for his "traditional" shirt). The only untailored garment is the toga, but this is used for expression of moods and situational conditions ( see "language of the shamma").

296 Laundering is done in or near riverbeds, or brooks, by women, housewives or female ex-slaves, using the dried

291 among peasant's weekday wear, and on the occasion of a peasant woman riding a mule (e.g. the bride being carried to the groom's hamlet). In the latter, somewhat tighter variety, it is called "lebaleba". Very recently, Sudanese-imported khaki shorts, British-type, have become popular 294 among peasants for workaday wear, and are mass-produced by foot-operated Singer sewing machines at "big markets" of provincial town. This has changed the status of the male tailor to a full-time, urban occupation, carried on by a poor Amhara and only when he is far from the district of his own kinfolk, to avoid shaming them.

292 The wearing of the kneelength cotton shirt, formerly also of imported silk, the "qämis", was a special privilege granted by the King to his chief courtiers and feudal governors and lords. This meant that they did not have to bare the upper body even to their superiors, and could, when travelling, demand food supplied from any peasant for themselves and their troops. Now called "ej täbab" (narrow-sleeve) it is urban wear for the commoner, and even the peasant wears it when he is not at work as well as on festive occasions. It is always of cotton. The term "qämis" is now used only for the full-length, wider-sleeved gown of women, who like to have it embroidered with green, flowery designs on chest and back ("telf qämis"). Unlike the male shirt, it is worn all the way to the feet, and is tied around the waist with a thin strip of cloth.

[831] The "qämis" of women is almost untailored, for emphasizing body contours would be "shameful". It is full-

291 it also at night or during the rainy season, for warmth. Old men use it for the latter reason, (but call it "deg", to differentiate it from the girdle of pregnancy).

The most important, and most varied, traditional garment of both sexes and all social levels among the Amhara, is the cotton toga, "shamma". It is made from cotton spun at home and then fashioned by the weaver. It is untailored, but draped with care.

In addition to the average shamma, there is a double shamma (called "kutta") for warmth and longer wear; and a half-shamma, usually of finer weave, for prestige (called "nätäla") used only for daytime wear. Size specifications vary between rural and urban usage, and between districts and provinces.

A full size rural shamma measures about five feet by 10 feet, when finished. To achieve this size, the weaver produces a piece of cloth 2-1/2 feet x 20 feet, cuts it in half, places the borders together, and sews lengthwise. This is the most common garment of the peasant during the work-week, in the dry season, day or night, male and female. It usually has a simple, narrow, dyed border, which is colorfast only in cold water.

The "kutta", when completed, is usually 6 feet wide and up to 15 feet long, cut and sewn in similar fashion, and of coarse, tightly woven cotton. It is worn at night, especially in the rainy season, and by travellers, for it can also be used as a blanket. Today, even in the center of Addis Ababa, one sees peasants curled up head to foot

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557 household both in rural areas or towns, also to do
565 plowing for the freehold farmer and help in the harvest. Servants are usually permanently employed, and therefore do not usually leave even if the employer is behind in his monthly wage payments. Salary and food are received with a bow and cupped hands. The servant addresses the master with the extra polite "gētoch" (lit. masters, i.e. plural), walks in front of the master's mule to make way, slightly behind him when both are on foot, and never lets his master carry anything.

Long interpersonal relations usually improve the position of the servant to master, and it is not in the servant's interest to change jobs, or to go to another area where he is unknown. A landless "gabbar" may try to attach himself to a well-to-do household as "retainer ("zēga"), without wages, doing a servant's work in the hope of occasional, seasonal gifts, a share of the produce, or, in town, a share in trade. For, a servant or retainer who is Amhara "attentam" and Coptic Christian becomes like a member of the extended family. The proverb says:

539 "When (women) grind (grain) together,
there is no mistress".

556 Economic wealth enables each of these social
565 classes to achieve some upward social mobility, within limits. But there are not many opportunities to accumulate much wealth. Traders can raise their status in towns, despite doubful ancestry. The same is true of tailors, a very recent occupation in town, where foot-operated sewing machines have enabled men

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294 to set up shops along the main street leading to the
565 market, or at the market itself, manufacturing khaki shorts and jackets. But this is still considered shameful manual labor by the Amhara, so that he will pursue it only in another province where it does not shame his kinfolk.

556 A rich man, whose low ancestry may be whispered behind his back, is nevertheless usually treated with honor by Amhara commoners. The proverb says:

[539] "He who falls in a shallow place"
hurt will not come to him", (i.e. a rich man, even if he falls drunk in a gutter, will not be molested by ruffians, who will instead take him to his house, expecting a reward).

[539] "The water of (the rainy month) Mahasse is good,
yet no one will drink it;
the word of the poor man may be fruitful,
but no one will listen to him" (i.e.he is not appreciated, no matter how wise).

B. Age Stratification.

561 Age stratification among the Amhara ranks in emphasis between class stratification and sex stratification.

561 The social relation of old toward the young is
882 often likened by the Amhara to that of master to servant. Indeed, a young man between puberty and marriage is addressed as "[illegible]", (lit. servant). A young girl of the same age is addressed and even referred to as "[illegible]"(lit. servant maid, [illegible]).